

# From Hellenistic to Roman Imperial in Pisidian tableware: The genesis of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware\*

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Within the field of Roman pottery studies, Sagalassos is by now well-known for its production of a red slip tableware (Sagalassos Red Slip Ware, hence forward called SRSW) which achieved a position of regional importance.<sup>1</sup> SRSW has received considerable scholarly attention: the organization and mechanisms of its production<sup>2</sup> have been studied and its distribution and consumption charted and contextualized.<sup>3</sup> The genesis of SRSW is less well understood. Recent research however has started to address the issue and this paper presents the tableware of three deposits which can be placed around the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In doing so the deposits considered in this paper allow insights into the early days of SRSW production and in particular the interaction of the ware with tableware of late Hellenistic date encountered in substantial numbers in these deposits. The three presented sites provide a unique opportunity to address how and when the late Hellenistic tableware repertoire of Sagalassos was transformed by the production of SRSW and allows us to approach the choices of the producers and consumers involved.

## Contextual background

Sagalassos is located in Pisidia, an inland region in south-west Turkey (Fig. 1), situated ca. 100 km

from the sea, perched on mountain terraces at about 1,450-1,600 m asl, forming part of the western Taurus range.<sup>4</sup> In Roman Imperial times, the site developed into a provincial town of some regional importance.<sup>5</sup> Pisidia in Hellenistic times, however, was often considered to be some sort of backwater inhabited by an unruly population famous for supplying mercenaries to warring monarchs.<sup>6</sup> Recent archaeological research has started to re-address this negative image of Pisidia and provide alternative narratives illustrating local differences within Pisidia itself.<sup>7</sup> Sagalassos is considered to be, together with Termessos and Selge, one of the three biggest cities of Hellenistic Pisidia.<sup>8</sup>

Few archaeological remains dated to the Hellenistic period are extant or have been unearthed at Sagalassos; the material that survives is primarily mid- to late Hellenistic. It is therefore difficult to approach the contemporary nature and character of the town. Yet, epigraphic evidence, coinage and the development of monumental architecture clearly indicate that Sagalassos was developing into a Hellenistic polis.<sup>9</sup> The earliest phases of the Hellenistic settlement, as it was conquered by Alexander the Great, have however so far eluded us. What we do know is that Sagalassos co-originated in Classical times with the nearby settlement at Düzen Tepe. The latter seems to have been the bigger of the two originally, but lost its ground when Sagalassos consciously joined the Hellenistic world in governance, urbanisation and material culture design.<sup>10</sup> Possibly starting already

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<sup>1</sup> The typology and chronology are presented in Poblome 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Poblome in press.

<sup>3</sup> Poblome 2008, 193-213.

<sup>4</sup> Paulissen *et al.* 1993, 229-40.

<sup>5</sup> Waelkens & Poblome 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. 14.19; App. 11.6.32; Strab. 12.6; for martial prowess of the inhabitants of Sagalassos, Livy 38.15.9.

<sup>7</sup> Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2010, 122.

<sup>8</sup> Mitchell, 1991, 119-45; Mitchell 1992, 1-27.

<sup>9</sup> Bracke 1993, 15-36; Waelkens 2004, 435-71.

<sup>10</sup> Poblome *et al.*, in press.



Fig. 1: Location of Sagalassos (source: Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

in late Hellenistic times a process of nucleation resulted in the early Roman Imperial growth of the town of Sagalassos, as well as its power yielding in its 1,200 km<sup>2</sup> wide and fertile territory.<sup>11</sup>

## The deposits

In this paper we consider tableware from loci associated with the so-called Upper Agora North Terrace, the Temple of Apollo Klarios and the Eastern Domestic Quarter/TSW5 (Fig. 2). All three deposits are dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Below the sites are briefly discussed. A quantified overview of the ceramic fragments identified as having belonged to open tableware shapes can be found below (Table 1). The subsequent sections will discuss separately the attested Hellenistic tableware and SRSW.

## Upper Agora North Terrace

Excavations in the area on top of and north of the Upper Agora revealed that originally a retaining wall was constructed here in late Hellenistic times. Possibly, the elaborate wall screened the north side of the pre-Roman Imperial phase of the Upper Agora. In early Roman Imperial times, possibly in conjunction with the re-arrangement of the Upper Agora, major water works were laid out within the terrace, probably feeding an original fountain along the north side of the Upper Agora. As part of the same operation, the retaining wall was reconfigured, while also smaller water pipe-lines were installed within the early Roman Imperial street level, which was laid out on this terrace.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Waelkens 2002, 311–68.

<sup>12</sup> Murphy & Poblome 2012, 242.

**Table 1:** Quantified overview of tableware (open shapes only) attested in the Apollo Klarios Temple, the Upper Agora North Terrace and Theatre Street West-5 deposits. The category ‘other’ consists of very fragmented, undiagnostic body fragments.

	AK Deposit		UAN Deposit		TSW5 Deposit	
	RBHS (N=1,578)		RBHS (N=707)		RBHS (N=47)	
<b>Local (SRSW + mainly fabric 11)</b>	n	%	n	%	n	%
<b>SRSW</b>						
SRSW 1A130	10	0,6	2	0,3		
SRSW 1A100			6	0,8		
SRSW 1A111			4	0,6		
SRSW 1B100			3	0,4		
SRSW 1B140	1	0,1				
SRSW 1B150			8	1,1		
SRSW 1B162			2	0,3		
SRSW 1B170	1	0,1	2	0,3		
SRSW 1B180	1	0,1				
SRSW 1C190	1	0,1				
SRSW 1C100	1	0,1	1	0,1		
SRSW 1C120			3	0,4		
SRSW 1C122			1	0,1		
SRSW body fragments	103	6,5	103	14,6	35	5,4
<b>Fabric 11</b>						
Cup	9	0,6	1	0,1	2	0,3
Cup, Achaemenid			14	2,0	2	0,3
Cup, Mastoid	92	5,8	5	0,7	29	4,5
Cup, Mastoid or Achaemenid					1	0,2
Beaker, flaring rim						
Skyphos			1	0,1		
Bowl/Cup					10	1,5
Bowl/Cup, conical/ovoid	26	1,6			5	0,8
Bowl	11	0,7	1	0,1	1	0,2
Bowl, thickened exterior rim	3	0,2	1	0,1	9	1,4
Bowl, incurving rim	7	0,4	7	1,0	12	1,9
Bowl, convex incurving rim					3	0,5
Dish			1	0,1		
Plate	3	0,2	2	0,3	2	0,3
Fishplate			1	0,1		
Plate/Saucer	1	0,1	1	0,1		
Non-SRSW, open shape	61	3,9	44	6,2	68	10,5
Base			8	1,1	32	4,9
<b>Imports</b>						
ESA	1	0,1			1	0,2
Pergamenian sigillata (incl. appliqué ware)	5	0,3				
Lead glazed pottery	1	0,1				
Thin-Walled ware (incl. barbotine)	1	0,1			1	0,2
Bowl, mouldmade	4	0,3			1	0,2
<b>Unknown origin (prob. incl. local and import)</b>						
Open shape, grey ware	58	3,7				
Other non-HL body fragments	189	12,0	1	0,1		
Other, very fragmented body fragments	988	62,6	484	68,5	433	66,9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1578</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>707</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>647</b>	<b>100,00</b>

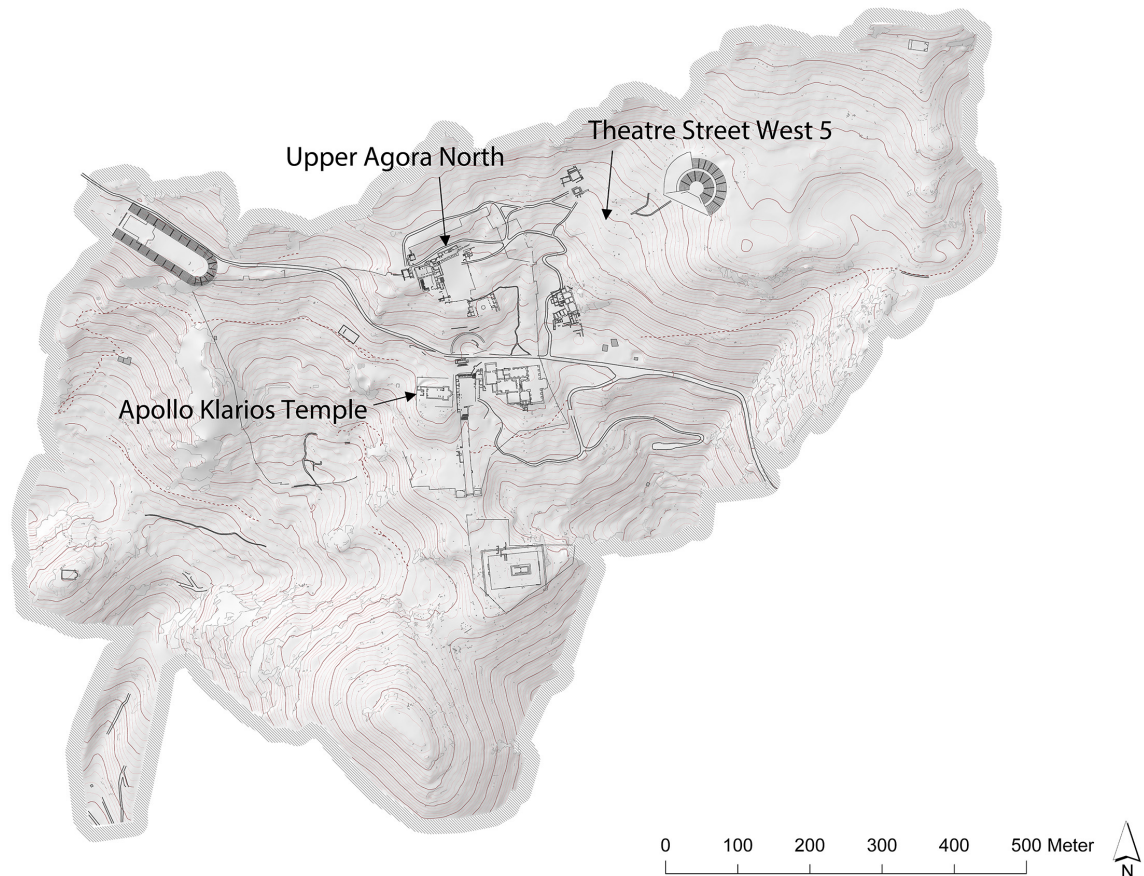


Fig. 2: Site plan of Sagalassos. Indicated are the deposits mentioned in the text (source: Joeri Theelen; Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

## Apollo Klarios Temple

The temple-and-temenos dedicated to Apollo Klarios was located on an artificially enlarged hill to the west of the Lower Agora. The architectural decoration of the temple building blocks dates the original monument to the Augustan period.<sup>13</sup> The loci containing late Hellenistic material were excavated in a sounding, situated immediately to the west of a pavement which probably formed part of the atrium of the late antique church which was installed in the remains of the former temple. The loci were considered to have formed part of the temple foundation deposits.<sup>14</sup>

## Eastern Domestic Quarter (TSW5)

The ceramic material from TSW5 resulted from test soundings in the eastern residential area of

Sagalassos. Geophysical research indicated the domestic character of this area while a program of soundings established the early Roman Imperial date of this quarter's development. TSW5 refers to the excavation of two test trenches. Trench I contained the remains of a Roman Imperial house. Trench II provided evidence for the construction of a street level and water channel during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The material considered was excavated in Trench II below the street level, containing Hellenistic, late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial material.<sup>15</sup>

## The Hellenistic tableware

The Hellenistic tableware identified in the Upper Agora North Terrace, the Apollo Klarios Temple and the Eastern Domestic Quarter deposits can be separated from its Roman counterpart on the

<sup>13</sup> Vandeput 1997, 55–7.

<sup>14</sup> Jacobs *et al.*, in press.

<sup>15</sup> Martens & Waelkens 2006, 280–1.





Fig. 3: Oxidized non-SRSW slipped sherds occurring at Sagalassos (photo: Bruno Vandermeulen; Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

basis of a combination of form, finishing and fabric. The latter is indeed key as the majority of the products are of the so-called Fabric 11, made from ophiolitic/flysch clays, to be found in the Potters' Quarter of Sagalassos but also frequently encountered in the wider Ağlasun valley.<sup>16</sup> This observation is important from a chronological perspective, as SRSW was manufactured from Çanaklı clays quarried circa 8 km away from Sagalassos.<sup>17</sup> Çanaklı clays were however already used in pre-Augustan times for the production of for example local black slip products and similarly the earliest SRSW used Fabric 11, next to Çanaklı clays.<sup>18</sup> The distinction is thus not absolute. It is the case however that in later Augustan times, when tableware production shifted from the Hellenistic potting area, located underneath and to the east of the later Roman Odeion, to the so-called Potters' Quarter to the east of the

Theatre, Çanaklı clays were used exclusively.<sup>19</sup> In terms of surface finish the Hellenistic tableware is usually fired orange or brownish. Colour combinations like orange/brown, reddish brown and blackish grey also occur frequently (Fig. 3). Tableware slipped completely black is much rarer. Additionally, the appearance of the slip varies significantly from shiny to dull and from thick to thin. In general, most attested fragments display a thin orange slip, which is sometimes dull in appearance and seems to have adhered not so well to the body. The majority of the tableware discussed can therefore be considered as colour-coated ware.<sup>20</sup>

The deposit data (Table 1) indicates that cups of mastoid shape (Fig. 4) occur fairly regularly among the diagnostic Hellenistic material considered. The mastos and related shapes, also identified in SRSW<sup>21</sup>, is characterized by a conical and flaring wall profile with a rim bevelled

<sup>16</sup> Poblome *et al.*, 2002, 873–82; Neyt *et al.*, 2012, 1296–305.

<sup>17</sup> Degryse & Poblome 2008, 231–54.

<sup>18</sup> Poblome *et al.*, in press.

<sup>19</sup> Poblome in press.

<sup>20</sup> Poblome *et al.*, in press; Hayes 1991, 23–5; Kögler 2010, 25.

<sup>21</sup> Poblome 1999, form 1A130.

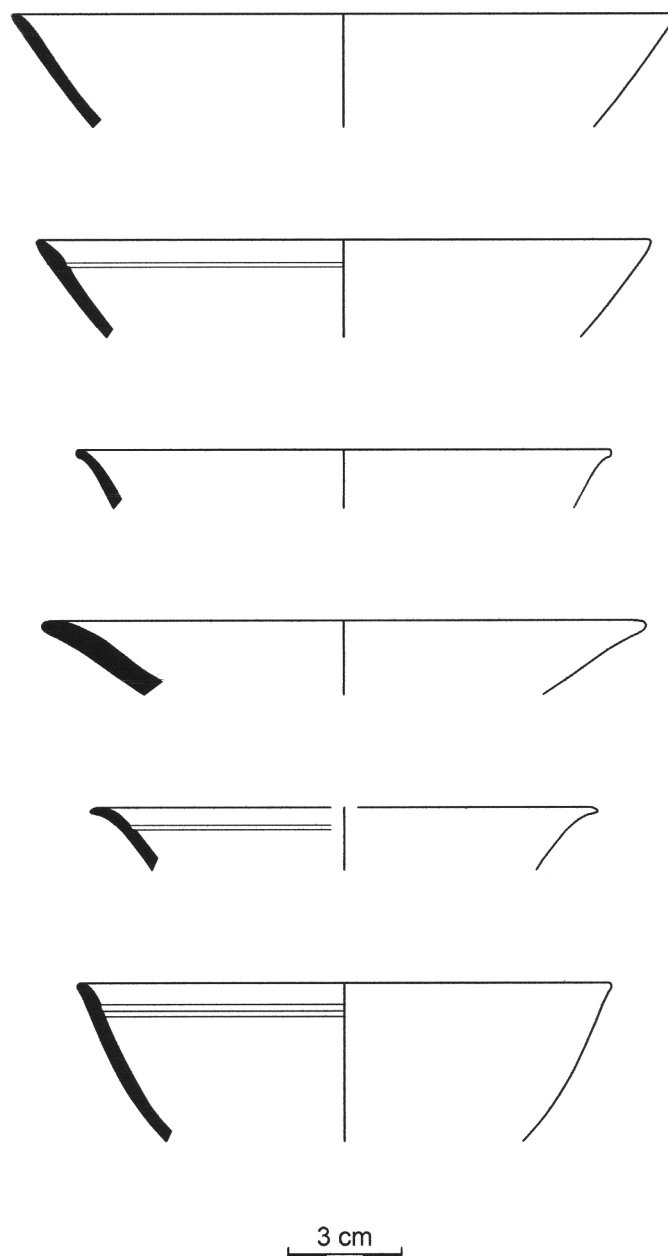


Fig. 4: Hellenistic mastoi, made at Sagalassos. Examples of the morphological variety encountered (source: Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

towards the interior or slightly outward flaring. One or two interior grooves usually but not always occur below the rim. Fairly numerous in the Apollo Klarios Temple deposit, is also a conical or ovoid cup or bowl. It has a flaring wall, which is slightly convex and ends in a faintly incurved rounded lip. This thin-walled vessel can have one or more grooves just below the rim on the interior. Noteworthy is the presence among the diagnostic material from the Upper Agora North Terrace of the Achaemenid cup, a shape

of Persian origin (Fig. 5a).<sup>22</sup> In terms of food consumption vessels, incurving rim bowls (Fig. 5c, e) are most commonly and consistently attested. Noteworthy however amid a varied repertoire of bowls is a vessel with thickened exterior rim (Fig. 5d, f). Plates are scarce among the material considered and where present generally have an incurving or upturned rim (Fig. 5b).

<sup>22</sup> Dusinberre 1999, 76–8.

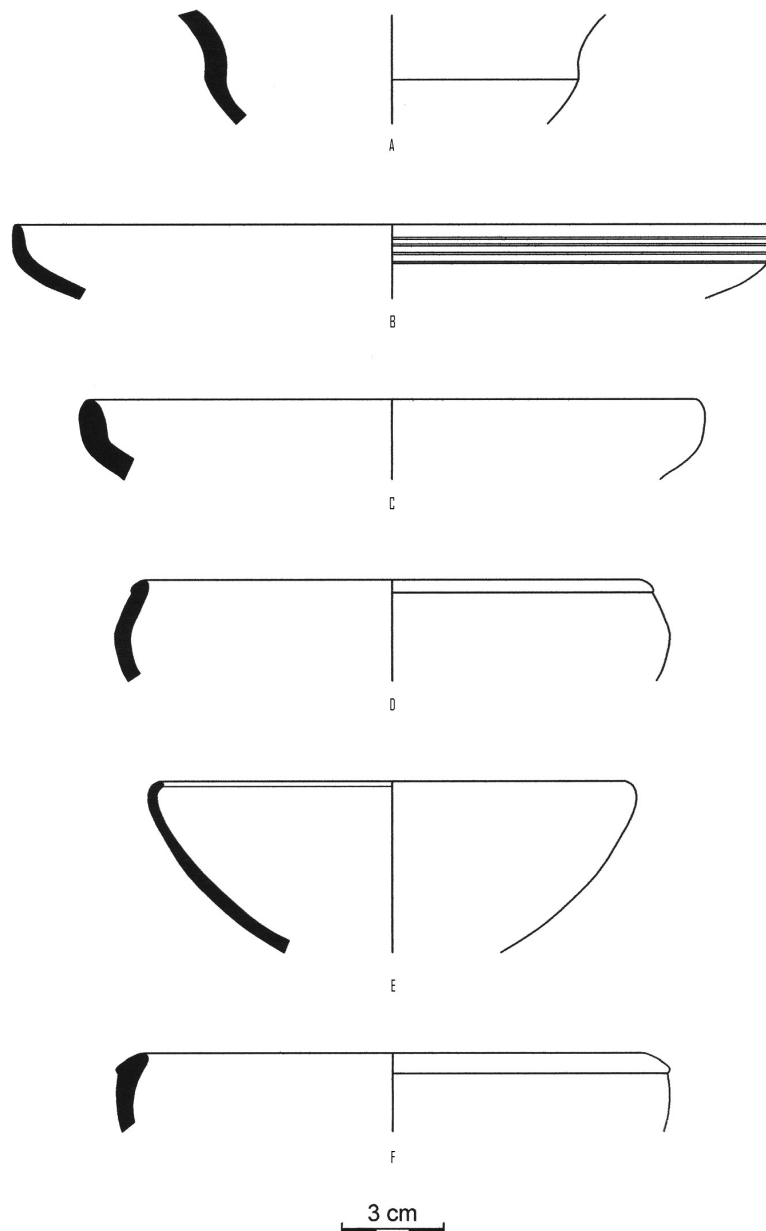


Fig. 5: a) Achaemenid cup; b) incurving rim plate; c) incurving rim bowl; d) bowl with thickened exterior rim; e) incurving rim bowl; f) bowl with thickened exterior rim, all made at Sagalassos (source: Sagalassos Archaeological Research project).

## Chronology

The Hellenistic tableware forms part of deposits which are placed around the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in which it occurs together with SRSW. Deposits dated to this timespan and containing SRSW have previously not been available and thus potentially can provide important insights into the early production stages of SRSW. As the deposits in question are foundation or terracing fills and not primary

use-contexts, a certain amount of residuality is to be expected. The Hellenistic pottery encountered is indeed very fragmented and it cannot be assumed *a priori* that it was used together with the attested SRSW. It is thus necessary to briefly survey the chronological indications that can be obtained from the pottery itself.

The fact that most of the Hellenistic tableware attested in the deposits considered is of Fabric 11 indicates that this material pre-dates the later Augustan period, when tableware at Sagalassos



Fig. 6: Pergamene Appliqué Ware (photo: Bruno Vandermeulen; Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

was exclusively manufactured from Çanaklı clays. The popularity of orange slips in particular and colour-coated ware more generally may be of further chronological significance. Examples of colour-coated ware at Paphos<sup>23</sup> date primarily to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC and at Knidos it appears in large numbers during the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>24</sup> Orange slips indeed possibly anticipate the later production of SRSW in which a full red slip coating is a characteristic feature.<sup>25</sup> The dominance of orange and reddish slips among the material considered thus possibly points to a post-150 BC dating, as around this time red slip pottery became more common in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>26</sup> There is however substantial evidence from more easterly Hellenistic sites but also from for example Ephesos that oxidized slips occurred substantially earlier.<sup>27</sup> There are indications that also at Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe slips were fired traditionally red, orange or

brown.<sup>28</sup> The occurrence of an oxidized finishing at Sagalassos therefore does not *a priori* indicate a late Hellenistic dating.

The rare occurrence of rouletting or stamping on the Hellenistic tableware vessels identified at Sagalassos is also noteworthy from a chronological perspective. Concerning stamping and West Slope decoration Ladstätter<sup>29</sup> has noted that at Ephesos both go out of fashion during the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. At Pergamon, a similar absence of painted, rouletted or stamped decoration<sup>30</sup> has been identified after the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and at Knidos stamped pottery and West Slope decoration was rare during the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.<sup>31</sup> At Paphos<sup>32</sup> and Jebel Khalid<sup>33</sup> West Slope however was scarce altogether throughout the course of the Hellenistic period. Other indicators of a late Hellenistic-early Roman Imperial dating are the occurrence of Pergamene Appliqué Ware (Fig. 6),<sup>34</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Hayes 1991, 23–5.

<sup>24</sup> Kögler 2010, 24–5.

<sup>25</sup> Poblome 1999, 27.

<sup>26</sup> For Pergamon, Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 195; for Athens, Rotroff 1997, 11; for Ephesos, Gassner 1997, 39.

<sup>27</sup> For Antioch, Waagé 1948, 4, 14; for Sardis, Rotroff & Oliver Jr. 2003, 1–2; for Ephesos, Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Poblome *et al.*, in press.

<sup>29</sup> Ladstätter 2003, 40.

<sup>30</sup> Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 200.

<sup>31</sup> Kögler 2010, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Hayes 1991, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 518.

<sup>34</sup> See Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988; Hübner 1993. Fragments datable to ca. the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century-early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.



ESA,<sup>35</sup> thin-walled ware,<sup>36</sup> lead-glazed ware,<sup>37</sup> fusiform unguentaria,<sup>38</sup> and banded and painted closed shapes related to white-ground wares<sup>39</sup> in the contexts considered. The presence of SRSW itself also points to a dating close to the end of the Hellenistic period.

## Shape parallels

Parallels to the shapes themselves provide additional chronological indications. Vessels of mastoid and related shape have been widely attested throughout and beyond the eastern Mediterranean. Although the shape and related vessels occurred already during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, it appears to have been popular primarily in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and perhaps early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.<sup>40</sup> In shape, the mastos (Fig. 4) is related to the cup with interior decoration.<sup>41</sup> It was part of the late Hellenistic preference within and beyond western Asia Minor for cups of conical shape. At Ephesos for example, conical cups related in shape to the mastos have been attested.<sup>42</sup> Earlier versions of this shape carry painted decoration<sup>43</sup>

whereas conical cups of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC are usually undecorated.<sup>44</sup> Similar cups with interior decoration have also been attested at Sardis and are dated to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>45</sup> Vessels of conical/mastoid shape were especially popular in the Levant.<sup>46</sup> The mastos also has close parallels in silver and glass,<sup>47</sup> examples of which are primarily dated to the late Hellenistic period.<sup>48</sup> At for example Tel Anafa glass mastoi were numerous, where thousands of fragments have been identified, and are dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>49</sup> At the Athenian Agora glass mastoi come from deposits dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and later<sup>50</sup> and at Ephesos similar glass vessels are dated from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to Augustan-Tiberian times.<sup>51</sup>

The preference for vessels of conical shape is also evidenced by the plentiful occurrence at Sagalassos of a bowl of conical/ovoid shape. This thin-walled vessel shows in its wall profile affinity to the canonical shape of the cup with interior decoration and as such, finds general affinity on quite a number of sites. At Ephesos in particular, a number of shape parallels<sup>52</sup> have been identified which primarily date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and (early) 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Vessels showing affinity in wall-profile have also been identified at Halikarnassos,<sup>53</sup> Pergamon,<sup>54</sup> Kordon Tumulus,<sup>55</sup> Sardis,<sup>56</sup> Hama<sup>57</sup> and Jebel Khalid.<sup>58</sup> The general

<sup>35</sup> Only two fragments identified in the AK and TSW5 deposits.

<sup>36</sup> Hayes 2008, 95–104.

<sup>37</sup> See Greene 2007, 653–71; Hayes 2008, 57–8.

<sup>38</sup> Fusiform unguentaria like the ones attested at Sagalassos are thought to date later in the Hellenistic period (Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 108–9). Grey Ware unguentaria categories 4 and 5 of the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 2006, 154), dated to ca. 215–150 BC and 180–100 BC respectively (Rotroff 2006, 153, table 14), are akin to the unguentaria from Sagalassos, some of which also display a grey fabric and exterior.

<sup>39</sup> See for discussion and examples Rotroff 1997, 225–32, cat. 1550–6. The banded and painted closed shapes attested in the Apollo Klarios deposit, appear to be related to the tradition of dark decoration on a light background, which in the case of the Sagalassian examples not necessarily involves the characteristic light slip. Banded lagynoi from the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 1997, 231, cat. 1550–6) also lack the characteristic slipped underground. The lagynos is the most characteristic shape of the light-ground tradition and was particularly popular during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Gassner 1997, 69–70). It remained popular until ca. 50 BC (Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 72).

<sup>40</sup> For a full discussion, Van der Enden *et al.*, in press.

<sup>41</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>42</sup> For example: Ladstätter 2010d, 85–102, pl. 171: 152; Ladstätter 2003, pl. 8: 73.

<sup>43</sup> Ladstätter 2010d, 93–4; also Gassner 1997, pl. 7: 123–4.

<sup>44</sup> Ladstätter 2003, 30.

<sup>45</sup> Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 50, pl. 21–2: 140–1, 145.

<sup>46</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 307, 339.

<sup>47</sup> Rotroff 1997, 109.

<sup>48</sup> Strong 1966, 109–11; Weinberg & Stern 2009, 24.

<sup>49</sup> Fleming 1999, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Weinberg & Stern 2009, 24–5.

<sup>51</sup> Weinberg & Stern 2009, 25.

<sup>52</sup> Ladstätter 2003, 30, K73, dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and considered typical for the late Hellenistic period; *ib.*, 32, K92, a 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC dating; Ladstätter 2010d, 93–4, K156–62, a late 2<sup>nd</sup>–early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC dating.

<sup>53</sup> Vaag 2002, K94, compared to a parallel from the Athenian Agora dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>54</sup> Schäfer 1968, 58, cat. D2, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

<sup>55</sup> Aydın 2007, 7–64, cat. 2, 15 dated to 125–100 BC, cat. 54, dated to 150–100 BC.

<sup>56</sup> Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 41–2, pl. 31: 208, 210, to be placed somewhere between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>57</sup> Papanicolaou Christensen 1971, 13, fig. 6: 60–3, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC on the basis of parallels.

<sup>58</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 18–9, fig. 13: 10, dated to a mid-2<sup>nd</sup> to early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC range; *id.*, 306–7, fig. 107: 124.

wall profile of the more rounded cups with interior decoration<sup>59</sup> attested at the Athenian Agora, also displays affinity. It needs to be stressed however that the affinity of the Sagalassian vessel with the cup with interior decoration is slight and only concerns the general profile of the wall. Interior decoration is absent as are the grooves frequently encountered on proper cups with interior decoration. It is also uncertain as to what kind of base needs to be envisioned as no complete profile has been attested. At Hama and Jebel Khalid similar looking vessels without interior decoration have however been identified. Examples from the latter site are connected with cups with interior decoration as identified at Antioch.<sup>60</sup> At Ephesos similar looking vessels related to the cup with interior decoration are equally absent in decoration.<sup>61</sup>

The Achaemenid cup (Fig. 5a) is, in contrast, a shape not widely attested among pottery of the Hellenistic world. It does however occur at Hellenistic Sardis in some numbers during and before the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>62</sup> It occurs widely across the Achaemenid world.<sup>63</sup>

The most numerous attested food consumption shape among the material considered was the incurving rim bowl (Fig. 5c, e). This is not surprising considering that this shape is found all over the Hellenistic world in large numbers<sup>64</sup> and is popular throughout.<sup>65</sup> The bowl with thickened exterior rim (Fig. 5d, f) is however much more rarely encountered. This shape, which at Sagalassos makes a noticeable appearance among the material considered, is similar in appearance to Cypriot Sigillata, form P22a, identified for example at Paphos.<sup>66</sup> There, the shape is common in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>67</sup> At Jebel Khalid though this shape occurs already during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, and is thought to rep-

resent an eastern ceramic tradition,<sup>68</sup> one not generally encountered on more western Hellenistic sites. Another early parallel from Palaepaphos on Cyprus, dated to the late Classical period, is equally somewhat similar<sup>69</sup> and attests to the early occurrence of this vessel in the Levantine region. Plates were, as stated before, relatively rare among the material considered and the few diagnostic pieces identified represent primarily vessels with incurving or upturned rim. Plates with incurving/upturned rim (Fig. 6b) occur at many sites, for example at Athens,<sup>70</sup> Knidos,<sup>71</sup> Ephesos,<sup>72</sup> Jebel Khalid<sup>73</sup> and Tel Anafa,<sup>74</sup> dating in general between the (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the) 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

## Hellenistic choices

The late Hellenistic tableware repertoire recovered from the three deposits considered shows both similarities and differences with material from elsewhere in the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean. Clear and direct ceramic parallels are however hard to come by for some of the most numerous attested shapes,<sup>75</sup> which emphasizes the particular nature and character of the Sagalassian repertoire. However, despite the fact that direct parallels are hard to come by, affinity appears to exist with tableware encountered elsewhere in Hellenistic Asia Minor and the Levant. Sagalassian potters and consumers did not operate within a vacuum completely oblivious from ceramic trends and developments elsewhere; rather they appear to have focussed on local interpretations of broader patterns

<sup>68</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 19–20.

<sup>69</sup> Maier 1967, fig. 5a–b: form IV.

<sup>70</sup> Rotroff 1997, fig. 58: 847, dated 110–86 BC?, 328, fig. 97: 1603–4, contexts of 150–110 BC and 110 BC to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD respectively.

<sup>71</sup> Kögler 2010, cat. D112, ESA Hayes form 3, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>72</sup> Ladstätter 2003, 23, cat. K2, ESA Hayes form 4A, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC–early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

<sup>73</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 413, fig. 115, ESA Hayes forms 3–4.

<sup>74</sup> Slane 1997, 246–406, pl. 6: FW57, TA type 13, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC–early Roman.

<sup>75</sup> In contrast, glass mastoi provide direct parallels for the examples from Sagalassos.

<sup>59</sup> Rotroff 1997, 277–9, fig. 21: 333, dated 280–260 BC, cat. 351, dated 150–100 BC, cat. 346, dated 200–175 BC.

<sup>60</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 306–7.

<sup>61</sup> Ladstätter 2003, 30.

<sup>62</sup> Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 61–2; Dusinger 1999, 78.

<sup>63</sup> Dusinger 1999, 76–8.

<sup>64</sup> Rotroff 1997, 161, note 53; Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 24–5.

<sup>65</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 12, note 45; Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 24–5; Kögler 2010, 150–1; Hayes 1991, 27.

<sup>66</sup> Hayes 1991, figs. XIX, LXI: 21–2, Cypriot Sigillata form P22, see also fig. LII: 19, Cypriot Sigillata form P22A, dated to ca. 40–10 BC.

<sup>67</sup> Hayes 1991, 42.



Fig. 7: Hellenistic mastoi, made at Sagalassos. Note the interior grooving. (photo: Bruno Vandermeulen; Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

in tableware consumption visible during later 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

The use of conical/ovoid bowls represents such an interpretation. Shapes that show affinity have been attested both in Greece, western Asia Minor and the Levant. The cup with interior decoration and related shapes in particular display in their general morphological outlook a certain degree of affinity. This shape was for example highly popular at Ephesos during the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.<sup>76</sup> The numerous occurrences of conical/ovoid bowls at Sagalassos suggests a local preference for a similar shape, one lacking however the decoration common on examples elsewhere. We have seen however that this appears to have been the case also in the Levant where unpainted vessels of mastoid shape display affinity both with the mastos and conical/ovoid bowl as attested at Sagalassos. Considering the morphological affinity between the Sagalassian vessels and the cup with interior decoration plus the popularity of the latter shape during the late Hellenistic period, it is possible that both were part of the same widely shared preference for handleless conical/ovoid cups/bowls during the latter part of the Hellenistic period.<sup>77</sup>

The mastos (Fig. 7) similarly taps into this late Hellenistic preference for cups/bowls of conical shape prevalent especially in the Levantine area as indicated by the presence here of both ceramic and especially glass parallels. As with the conical/ovoid bowl a relationship with the cup with interior decoration can be pointed out. Vessels showing affinity have been widely attested but it is tempting to see the Levant as the region to which Sagalassos ceramically speaking was looking.<sup>78</sup> Indeed ovoid cups from Jebel Khalid associated both with the mastos as identified at the Athenian Agora<sup>79</sup> and with ESA cups of Hayes form 17,<sup>80</sup> share with the mastos and conical/ovoid cup/bowl from Sagalassos the lack of interior decoration and general affinities in wall profile and interior grooving below the rim. From Jebel Khalid, an ovoid bowl with plain rim is for example very similar to the conical cup/bowl from Sagalassos.<sup>81</sup> The ovoid bowls attested at Jebel Khalid, also share a link with the cup with interior decoration as examples of similar shape but with interior decoration have been identified at Antioch.<sup>82</sup> The popularity of unpainted conical/

<sup>76</sup> See Van der Enden *et al.*, in press, for a developmental overview of the mastos at Sagalassos.

<sup>79</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 306.

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.*, 18, 19, 339.

<sup>81</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 107, cat. 124.

<sup>82</sup> *Ib.*, 505; Waagé 1948, 15.

<sup>76</sup> Ladstätter 2003, 30–2.

<sup>77</sup> Jackson & Tidmarsh 2011, 305–7; for Ephesus: Ladstätter 2003, 30–2, for Sardis: Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 41–2.

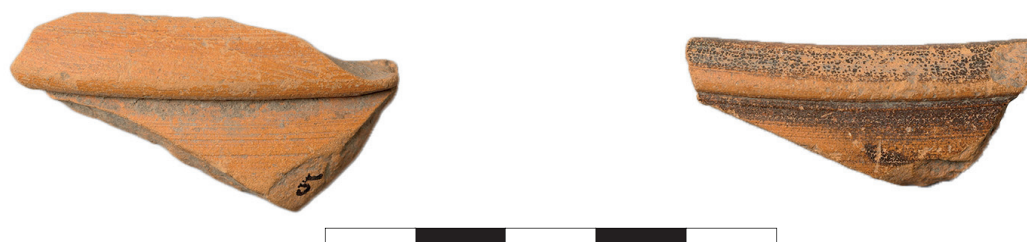


Fig. 8: Two fragments of bowls with thickened exterior rim, made at Sagalassos (photo: Bruno Vandermeulen; Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

ovoid vessels at Jebel Khalid and the popularity of ESA form 17, a vessel of similar shape, in the Levant, possibly indicates that the similarly undecorated Sagalassian mastoi and conical/ovoid bowls more closely resemble Levantine traditions of manufacture, than those of Greece and in particular western Asia Minor where the conical cup with interior decoration proliferates and mastoi akin those of Sagalassos occur only sporadically.

Additional connections between Sagalassos and the Levant are indicated by the presence of the bowl with thickened or folded rim on the exterior (Fig. 8), a shape absent in the Hellenistic Aegean. The presence in some numbers of this shape at Sagalassos further suggests that this Pisidian polity, though probably aware in general terms of wider ceramic developments current in western Asia Minor, looked also in other directions. Sagalassos indeed continued to do so, as the shape is also present in the SRSW repertoire. Another shape which appears to illustrate this is the Achaemenid cup. The survival of this shape in SRSW<sup>83</sup> suggests that at Sagalassos, both potters and consumers continued established patterns of manufacture and consumption. Clearly this shape was not the most popular cup utilized within the pre-Roman Imperial material considered, but its survival is marked enough<sup>84</sup> to suggest that established local traditions did not waver easily. At Sardis Achaemenid cups are considered to stress the non-Greek character of the tableware repertoire of at least part of the city during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and therefore highlight the Lydian roots of part of the community.<sup>85</sup> The presence of the Achaemenid cup among

the pre-Roman Imperial material considered and as part of the SRSW repertoire, again links this Pisidian community to the manufacturing traditions of the Levant and wider east.<sup>86</sup> Achaemenid cups have for example been identified among the late Classical pottery of Palaepaphos on Cyprus,<sup>87</sup> a region with which Sagalassos also shares the occurrence of the bowl with thickened exterior rim. Vessels of mastoid/conical shape have also been attested on Cyprus.<sup>88</sup>

It is also of interest that few plates have been identified among the Hellenistic material considered. Lund<sup>89</sup> makes a similar observation with regard to the earliest Cypriot Sigillata. Though the contextual background of the pre-Roman Imperial deposits considered largely eludes us, specific dining practices may be evidenced by the configuration of the tableware repertoire.<sup>90</sup> This configuration differs from that of for example Ephesos, Knidos<sup>91</sup> and Pergamon,<sup>92</sup> all sites where plates appear to have been an important feature of the tableware repertoire. Local/regional differences may thus be in evidence. Berlin<sup>93</sup> has indeed similarly identified a typical configuration of the dining repertoire of Ilion's lower city households. Plates are relatively scarce, leading her to propose that formal dining may have been largely absent.

Within an eastern Mediterranean world which had become considerably smaller because of Rome's involvement, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> cen-

<sup>83</sup> Poblome 1999, 304, type 1A120.

<sup>84</sup> In locus 45–41 of the Upper Agora North deposit.

<sup>85</sup> Rotroff & Oliver 2003, 60–1.

<sup>86</sup> See Dusinger 1999, 76–8 for the distribution of Achaemenid cups.

<sup>87</sup> Maier & Von Wartburg 1986, 54–61.

<sup>88</sup> Lund 2002, 192, fig. 3: 6, form P15.

<sup>89</sup> *Ib.*, 195.

<sup>90</sup> Although naturally we need to take into consideration the specific contextual nature of the deposits.

<sup>91</sup> Kögler 2010, 132, 147.

<sup>92</sup> See e.g. De Luca & Radt 1999, 10–9; Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, Taf. 38–42.

<sup>93</sup> Berlin 1999, 73–157.



turies BC,<sup>94</sup> Sagalassos can thus be seen to make choices in the production and consumption of tableware. Different aspects of choice would have influenced the way in which producers and consumers decided to give form and meaning to materiality of eating and drinking practices. Connectivity, knowledge of and interaction with developments elsewhere represent such aspects, as does the specific cultural background of Sagalassos and economic and geo-political considerations. With regard to the former, producers and consumers at Sagalassos, clearly had some general awareness of wider trends, the specifics of which however may not have reached this Pisidian community or, alternatively, were rejected in favour of local or regional practices of manufacture and consumption. In conclusion, Sagalassos in the late Hellenistic period appears not to have followed the lead of the major western production centres, on the contrary: it utilised a repertoire which appears to have drawn its inspiration primarily from the Cypriot-Levantine area, although it is also clear that the site adhered on a general level to more widely carried trends of tableware fashions.

### SRSW: new horizons or old habits die hard?

When, in Augustan times, the potters of Sagalassos were allowed to expand their activities in an entirely new quarter of the town, located beyond the town's centre to the east of the Theatre, they not only transformed the technology and quality of their tableware into a genuine type of sigillata, but also used this momentum to reconsider the design and style of their products.

The original seriation study of the chronology of SRSW indicated that the mastos type 1A130 (Fig. 9) was the most common shape of this initial production phase of SRSW.<sup>95</sup> In another contribution, we measured the effect of the 1A130 in socio-cultural terms, providing clues for the specific balance the material culture of contemporary Sagalassos struck between integration

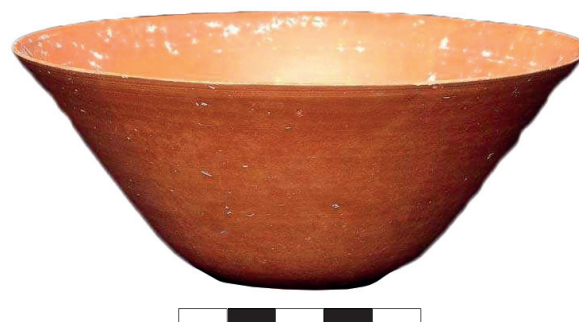


Fig. 9: SRSW type 1A130, the Sagalassos mastos (photo: Bruno Vandermeulen; Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

into the Roman Empire and their own developed Hellenistic background.<sup>96</sup> The same regionally specific scenario was recently elaborated for the locally produced range of so-called Pompeian red wares.<sup>97</sup>

In general a wider range of types was produced in SRSW. Some types, such as the mastos 1A130, the Achaemenid cup 1A120, the bowl with incurved rim 1B170, the bowl with thickened exterior rim 1C171 and the container with folded and thickened rim 1F150, are clearly path-dependent in design, while others represent a local translation of mainstream tableware shapes in contemporary (mainly eastern types of) sigillata and thin walled wares, or tableware in glass and silver plate. The fact that drinking cups represent the most common group of shapes is new compared to the Hellenistic set of shapes, implying a higher degree of specificity of form usage. Another striking feature of the initial stages of SRSW design is the way in which sharp carinations and elaborated rim and sometimes base profiles (e.g. types 1B160, 1C130 and variants, 1B190-1, 1C200) emulate shapes in silver plate, or contemporary shapes in ceramic tableware that are more sensitive to skeuomorphism as well, such as Italian Sigillata.

In sum, early Roman Imperial SRSW should be seen as the next stage in the long-term evolution of locally or regionally produced tableware in the study region of ancient Sagalassos, in which new elements could be introduced, but would always be balanced against regional design traditions, resulting in a specific and recognizable set of shapes that put the contemporary community of Sagalassos on the map.

<sup>94</sup> See for example the classic treatments of Millar 1984, 3–24; Harris 1985; Gruen 1986, but also Woolf 1992, 283–93; and specifically for the Roman impact upon Hellenistic economies, Paterson 2001, 270–8.

<sup>95</sup> Poblome 1999, 311.

<sup>96</sup> Poblome *et al.* 2007, 221–32.

<sup>97</sup> Poblome 2012, 81–94.